



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee
November 27, 1968

Re: BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
RACIAL MATTERS

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS

On November 23, 1968, a first source advised that the students at LeMoyne-Owen College, Memphis, Tennessee, after three days of minor disturbances, during which a local group of Negroes headed by Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson and his group which he interchangeably calls the Invaders and the Black United Front, had appeared on the campus intimidating students, during which time one of the Invaders pulled a pistol on one of the LeMoyne students. The source advised that the LeMoyne students had presented to the administration a series of demands which included opening certain college buildings for longer hours, changing the way grade point averages are computed, lowering cafeteria prices, lowering tuition, improving the book store, adding more black history courses, and ending required attendance at assemblies.

Source one stated that the faculty and administration would meet on Monday, November 25, 1968, to consider these demands.

On November 25, 1968, a second source advised that on November 22, 1968, members of the Invaders who are now using the interchangeable name, Black United Front (BUF), met, including Melvin Smith, Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson, John Charles Smith, Lewis Welch, Chiquita Smith, also known as Chaceatuh Smith, Roy Lee Turks, and Maurice Lewis, at LeMoyne-Owen College where they were joined by Coby Vernon Smith, one of the original 1967 formers of the Invaders and who is now a student at Southwestern College at Memphis. Also present were Dennis Henderson and Willie Taylor, along with (First Name Unknown) Fisher, a senior at LeMoyne College, and one Willie (Last Name Unknown), a student at LeMoyne College. The abovementioned individuals met with

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one, Donald Payne Stone, a Field Representative of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) of Atlanta, Georgia, who discussed the student grievances at LeMoyne-Owen College, it being understood that Coby Vernon Smith had originally goaded the students into making these demands when he spoke at "Inquiry Week" on November 15, 1968.

(Characterizations of the Black Organizing Project (BOP), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and the SNCC are set forth in the Appendix Section of this communication.)

COBY VERNON SMITH

On June 5, 1967, a tenth source advised that Coby Smith attended the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) National Committee Plenum held at 783 Broadway, New York City, New York, June 2, 3 and 4, 1967.

(The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.)

The second source stated that the student named Fisher was in favor of settling the grievances and did not want any violence, stating that he had insufficient student support to do anything of a violent or dramatic nature. Melvin Smith of the Invaders and BUF was overheard to say that he wanted to "kill crackers and Uncle Toms" and Coby Smith then stated that they had enough students to do this and that they could do anything they wanted to do or made up their minds to do.

Later on the evening of November 22, 1968, Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson, Lewis Welch, and Chaceatuh Smith, the Secretary of the Invaders, tried to convince Fisher that he needed outside help in his problem; and Donald Stone stated that this is in effect a small but definitely black revolution and that a similar revolution is going on all over the United States. Stone further stated that in order to be successful in this regard any internal movement such as student unrest must have the help of outsiders, and that it needed to be turned

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into a community effort.

Donald Stone left the meeting with Coby Smith, and "Willie Wine" stated "We are the Invaders and the black people's army. He further stated to Fisher, "We are going to help you whether you want us to or not."

At this point, LeMoyne-Owen College student, Dennis Henderson, appeared to become the leader of the student movement and told "Willie Wine" that he wanted Wire and the Invaders to help them, as the students needed all the help they could get. Willie Taylor volunteered to get together at least 20 male Negroes on the LeMoyne campus to protect all of the students who would take part in any demonstration against the school. Dennis Henderson stated that beginning at 8:30 a.m. on Monday, November 25, 1968, that they would break up into different groups and disrupt LeMoyne and the classes being held therein, and that at 10:30 a.m. they would call a mass meeting and would then decide how to disrupt classes and harass the faculty and administration. He stated that at 4:40 p.m., November 25, 1968, the faculty was to have a meeting in the library to discuss student grievances, that the students would take the grievances to the faculty at this time, and that if they did not get a favorable answer, they would lock the library and hold the faculty participants as hostages.

Source two advised that on November 23, 1968, a group of members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) met. Included in this group were Memphis State University (MSU) students Laura C. Ingram and Cynthia Berman, along with Laura C. Ingram's boy friend, with whom she is living at 174 Somerville, John Martin Gardner, III, and John Ash, the operator of a Planters Peanut stand on South Main Street. Also in this group were Ann Twiggs, Memphis State University student; Kathleen Summerall, Memphis State University student; Muriel Patterson, Negro female, the girl friend of Edward M. Carter, Jr., also known as "Ted" Carter, who is one of the SDS leaders; and James Earl Gaylord, who is a night student at Memphis State University and an employee of the Collection Department, Internal Revenue Service, U. S. Treasury Department, Memphis, Tennessee. This group subsequently split up with Laura Ingram,

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John Gardner, Ann Twiggs, and Kathleen Summerall going to the Invaders or Black United Front (BUF) office at the Clayborn Temple, AME Church, 280 Hernando Street, Memphis, Tennessee. At Clayborn Temple, they met with Invaders Lance Watson, Roy Turks, Lewis Welch, Chaceatuh Smith, John C. Smith, and one Marlene (last name unknown), a Negro female, and Robert Lee "Cornbread" Wilson. Watson led a discussion as to what the group should do at LeMoyne College on November 25, 1968, about the student grievances. Watson wanted the SDS to help them in the demonstrations. He stated that they planned to get the faculty locked in the library and that SDS could bring food and supplies to the Invaders and cooperative students who were engaged in this operation. Everyone agreed to do this and it was found that Ted Carter had planned a subsequent SDS meeting at Memphis State University November 25, 1968, at 3:30 p.m. to plan further actions.

James Earl Gaylord stated that he would bring up the discussion of support of the LeMoyne students at this meeting and was positive that everyone would go along with this, at which time Lance "Sweet Willie Wine" Watson stated that the black power-people were depending upon the assistance of SDS.

Also on the morning of November 25, 1968, a third source advised that he had learned over the weekend that Dennis Henderson, the LeMoyne student leader, had been meeting with one Frank Brewer, Choir Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) Freedom Singers, a recent arrival in Memphis from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Frank Brewer had come to Memphis with one Donald Stone, a Field Representative of SNCC from Atlanta, Georgia, who source three described as being about 32 to 35 years of age, bearded, high Afro hair, medium brown complexion, a male Negro, 6 feet tall, husky or fat in build, weighing approximately 220 pounds, and wearing steel-rimmed granny glasses, who had come to Memphis apparently at the behest of Coby Vernon Smith, who was one of the original founders of the BOP movement in Memphis, Tennessee, during 1967.

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The third source advised that some of the original Invaders who had not been active in Invader activity in the past three months, namely Charles Harrington and some of his associates, had indicated that they, too, planned to inject themselves into the student demands at LeMoyne-Owen College.

Source three confirmed the fact that Wine and his group had met with a LeMoyne student committee on the afternoon and evening of Saturday, November 23, 1968, to make plans for their action on November 25, 1968. This group was particularly angry because when some of the students had tried to lay down in the halls during the previous week in order to harass the administration at LeMoyne, a white male who is a teacher of Philosophy and Religion named Paul Hays had allegedly stepped on the chest of one of the students who was laying in the hall and this angered the black students. Source three stated that it was obvious that the situation which touched off the student demands was the chidings of Coby Vernon Smith made during "Inquiry Week," wherein he told the LeMoyne-Owen students that they were not doing anything, that they were traitors to their race, that they should rise up and assert themselves and make known their demands for settlement of grievances to the administration of the college.

On November 25, 1968, source one stated that he was aware of the fact that the students might try to take over one or more of the LeMoyne buildings or hold some of the faculty members hostage and that he did not desire to have anyone arrested unless absolutely necessary and that he felt that the LeMoyne officials could work out their own problems, provided there were not too many outside agitators who injected themselves into it. He pointed out that LeMoyne has approximately seven hundred students, all but a few of whom are Negroes, and that LeMoyne has approximately seventy faculty and staff members. He stated that the faculty would meet with some of the students around 4:30 p.m., November 25, 1968, to discuss demands. Later source one stated that the meeting had been moved up until 2 p.m. in order to get most of the meeting over during daylight hours.

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On November 25, 1968, source four basically confirmed information furnished by source one, adding that the students were being advised that they might lose their Federally secured student loans if they engaged in disruptive activities.

On November 25, 1968, a fifth source advised that the SDS group hard core had met around 3:30 p.m. at the Westminster House, a Presbyterian student center adjacent to the Memphis State University (MSU) campus, in a meeting which lasted from approximately 3:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. on November 25, 1968, to discuss plans to participate in the demonstrations at LeMoyne College. This meeting was chaired by Edward M. "Ted" Carter, Jr., who was assisted by James Earl Gaylord and Laura C. Ingram. Pertinent attendees in addition to those listed above were Kathleen Summerall, Warren Wayne Zapp, Robert Rutman, Ann Twiggs, Thomas J. McAllister, Michael Holliday, Virginia Dow, one John or Mike Gambill (phonetic), and Richard Moon, a Presbyterian Minister who is Director of the Westminster House, and a theological student, Robert Matlock, both of whom are members of the local chapter of SDS, according to source five.

Also meeting with them was David Acey who is the Coordinator of the Black Student Association (BSA), a group of Memphis State University (MSU) Negro students who are affiliated with the over-all black power group in Memphis known as the Black Organizing Project (BOP).

It was brought out at the meeting that Lance Watson who is head of the Invaders had invited SDS to help in the LeMoyne demonstrations through the intervention of Ted Carter, Laura Ingram, and James Earl Gaylord; and it was brought out that the SDS group would primarily furnish food, blankets, and equipment for the Invaders and key LeMoyne student participants who would engage in any disruptive or sit-in activities on the LeMoyne campus.

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At approximately 4:45 p.m., parts of this group took off en route to the LeMoyne campus, including Virginia Dow, Thomas McAllister, Laura Ingram, and Ann Twiggs, along with Kathleen Summerall, Robert Rutman, Michael Holliday, and Edward M. Carter, Jr. The bulk of this group joined the LeMoyne students who by this time had conducted a sit-in in the Main Administration Building known as Brown Lee Hall. The students locked the doors from the inside and would not allow any unauthorized person inside the building, and a small group was contacted by a Negro on a motorcycle who talked to Willie Wine and some of the students and who was riding the area getting reinforcements. This Negro wears a black glove beneath which is a large ring to which is attached a hooked knife blade.

Inside the Administration Building, it was decided that the group, by this time consisting of a group of Invaders, members of the SDS, and a few LeMoyne students, would sit in the building and occupy it until the administration met all of the student demands. In the meantime, Lance Watson and some of his associates toured the neighborhood going into the LeMoyne Gardens Housing Project operated by the Memphis Housing Authority (MHA) and occupied exclusively by Negroes seeking help.

He apparently received very little response.

Willie Wine stated that he planned to break the city down into districts and that each district would have an Invaders leader who would be responsible for getting help for such situations as this.

Around 6:30 p.m., November 25, 1968, according to source five, Willie Wine and some of the Invaders went to the Invaders or BUF Headquarters in the southeast corner of Clayborn Temple AME Church where there were approximately six to ten Negroes present, plus a young male white of medium height, with red hair, and wearing horn-rimmed glasses. There they obtained a .22 caliber rifle, to which was attached a telescopic sight, two boxes of .22 caliber long ammunition, a single-barrel shotgun and a box of ammunition which was hid

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under the couch. It was observed that this office was well equipped with chairs, typewriters, photo-copiers, Mimeograph machines, a television, radio, desk and file cabinet. At least one of the Invaders, identity not known, had a pistol on him and they had two or three machetes.

Some of the Invaders suggested that the Invaders who had arms should surround the LeMoyné campus which is quite small and if the Police Department attempted to invade the campus to conduct arrests, that they should snipe or shoot the police officers.

Shortly thereafter, the group of Invaders who had the weapons went to LeMoyné and immediately entered the Main Administration Building, Brown Lee Hall.

Later during the evening, Ann Twiggs, Kathleen Summerall, and Laura Ingram took turns going out into the city to buy groceries and to obtain blankets and other supplies for the demonstrators who were to remain inside the building throughout the night.

Also it was learned by source five that Willie Wine as a part of psychological warfare filled several beer bottles with water but let the LeMoyné officials see these and gave them the impression that they were filled with gasoline and could be used to firebomb the building, thereby burning it down.

At approximately 5:05 p.m., November 25, 1968, a sixth source advised that it had been determined that the Brown Lee Hall had been secured and taken over by approximately twenty LeMoyné students, assisted by some of the members of the SDS and Invaders. The sixth source advised that they had tied the inside doors with ropes so that they could not be unlocked from the outside and had reluctantly permitted the switchboard operator and other officials who were still in the building to leave the building unmolested.

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7 They agreed to allow [REDACTED] to remain in the building throughout the night.

Around 5:30 p.m., November 25, 1968, Detective Mary Sample, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, advised that things were relatively quiet on the campus and that Captain John Molnar of the Special Services Bureau, Memphis Police Department, who was on the scene, had talked to people of the administration who had originally requested that the Police Department run off the campus all nonstudents but when the official was advised that someone would have to swear out warrants charging them with trespassing the official refused to swear out the warrants.

During the next hour, source six advised that the group continued to hold the administration building.

At 6:40 p.m., Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that there were approximately 40 to 50 students milling around the outside of Brown Lee Hall, that the inside of the building appeared to be well secured by the students who had taken over the building, but that the students were not blocking the library, where the faculty had been meeting.

Also Detective [REDACTED], Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that he had seen Reverend Richard M. Moon and Robert Matlock, both members of the SDS, at the corner of McDowell and Walker on the northwest corner of the college campus, and that several invaders, including Lance Watson, Lewis Welch, Roy Turks, and John Charles Smith, were in the area and had been going in and out of the Administration Building. He stated that he had also observed Ann Twiggs and Kathleen Summerall going in and out of the building, along with Ted Carter.

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Detective [redacted] advised that at approximately 6:30 p.m., the Police Department pulled their uniformed officers off the campus since the LeMoyne officials had seen fit not to have any of the demonstrators arrested.

About 7:30 p.m., Detective [redacted] advised that a janitor at LeMoyne College, named James Scott, had come out and stated that he had heard Watson and his associates say that they might burn Brown Lee Hall during the night. [redacted] estimated that there were approximately 15 SDS people in the building and approximately 10 to 15 invaders.

At approximately 9 p.m., a seventh source advised that the faculty meeting had broken up a short while earlier and that the faculty meeting had not arrived at any definite conclusion. The seventh source advised further that the faculty had apparently been willing to give some of the concessions to the students, that the students allowed the faculty to leave unmolested, and that Dr. Hollis Price, President of LeMoyne College, had gone into the Administration Building in an effort to talk to the striking students who were holding the building.

At about 9:15 p.m., an eighth source advised that the Invaders and SDS members had taken over the building and that they were primarily staying in the halls, although they were attempting to get into some of the locked offices. He stated that there were about thirty LeMoyne students remaining in the building and that he had heard one of them saying that they will get gasoline and burn down the building. The Invaders were attempting to brainwash the students by insisting that they not relent in their demands on the administration.

Also the Invaders were overheard to urge the students to break into the offices and destroy equipment therein.

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It was determined also by source eight that various sympathetic students and supporters were coming in and out of the building with food, although no one else was allowed in the building, other than Dr. Hollis Price. Source eight further advised that the students and the Invaders were ganged around Dr. Price attempting to verbally intimidate him into signing an agreement which would permit them to leave, and that Dr. Price told them that he did not have the authority to sign this without the consent of the faculty committee.

Source eight stated that there were approximately ten girls in the building, about four of whom were white, and that he had heard that some of them had indicated that if they did not get what they wanted not, they might start something later on which the college would regret, but they did not elaborate.

At approximately 10 p.m., Detective Mary Sample, supra, advised that she had learned that Robert Matlock of the SDS had been allowed into the building and was inside with Dr. Price talking to some of the students and that it had been reliably reported that several of the people in the building had pistols and some had long-bladed knives.

At approximately 10:45 p.m., source three advised that there were approximately 40 students and supporters, primarily Invaders and members of the SDS, holding Brown Lee Hall in a state of seige and that they definitely had a single-barrel 12-gauge shotgun, a rifle with a telescopic sight, a bayonet, at least one Derringer, and one pistol, possibly a .32 or .38 caliber.

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Source Three stated that the group was not holding Dr. Price hostage but that they were attempting to break him down by verbal intimidation. Source Three stated that among those who were in the building during the evening were definitely identified as Edward M. (Ted) Carter, Jr., Laura Ingram, Kathy Summerall, and Invaders such as Lance Watson, Roy Lee Turks, Robert Lee "Cornbread" Wilson, Melvin Smith, and John Charles Smith, and Maurice Lewis, and an older male Negro, gray-headed, in his early 50's, whose name is tentatively James Pogue, who may possibly be serving as a financial advisor for the Invaders and who has been seen with them recently. This group indicated that they intend to stay in the building during the entire night of November 25 and early morning of November 26, 1968. Source Three did not feel that they would actually harm anyone, although he felt that if they drank enough and got sufficiently emotionally involved, they might damage some of the property and might even burn the property.

At about 11:00 p.m., Frank Holloman, Director of Fire and Police, Memphis Police Department, advised that he had been able to talk by telephone with Dr. Price, who stated that he was in the building and that he thought he would stay until about midnight and then return to his home.

At approximately 1:00 a.m., the first source advised that it had been reliably learned that Dr. Price had been unsuccessful in his efforts to get the students to voluntarily leave the building and that no definite agreement had been reached with them. The first source stated it was learned that Dr. Price would possibly consider around 8:30 to 9:00 a.m., November 26, 1968, whether or not to call in the Memphis Police Department to evict the students with the understanding that Price would have to swear out warrants charging them with trespass and that he did not want to be responsible for a lot of mass arrests, particularly of some of his own students.

It was learned from Source One that Lance Watson was the main spokesman for the Invaders and was encouraging the LeMoynes students, some of whom had mixed emotions, to

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stand up to Dr. Price. While Price was in the building, Source One learned that Malcom Blackburn, Pastor, Clayborn Temple, who is also Field Organizer of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Union and who has voluntarily given space to the Invaders in the rear of his church, was permitted in the building by the Invaders, and that also while Price was in the building, SDS member Robert Matlock came in and urged the SDS people not to engage in any acts of violence lest this hurt their image in Memphis. Source One stated that he had also been reliably informed that the faculty had taken under advisement the student demands and would meet later on November 26, 1968, to further discuss them and that the two ringleaders on the part of the students were Dennis Henderson, a male student, and (First Name Unknown) Blackburn, a female student.

On the early morning of November 26, 1968, Source Two advised that approximately 35 to 40 people were still in the building early that morning, that about 15 or 20 were students, the rest being members of the Invaders or SDS. Source Two stated that they had three .22 caliber rifles, all on the second floor, on various corners thereof, and that they were all manned by Invaders who had them pointed where they could point out the windows and shoot if necessary anyone who attempted to rush the building. They also had three hand guns during the night, all of the weapons ostensibly being handled by only the Invaders and not by the students or SDS people.

People who Source Five learned had been in and out of the building during the siege and in support thereof were Morgan McCraw, male Negro, Memphis State University student, SDS member, and Black Student Association member; Melvin Smith, of the Invaders; Lance Watson, of the Invaders; Robert Lee "Cornbread" Wilson, of the Invaders; John C. Smith, of the Invaders; Maurice Lewis, of the Invaders; Kathy Sammerall; Edward M. Carter, Jr.; and Ann Twiggs, of SDS; and that Dick Moon and Robert Matlock had been in the area, and that Matlock had at one time come in and attempted to keep the SDS students from engaging in any acts of violence.

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Moon and Matlock were primarily there to counsel the SDS people.

Later on the morning of November 26, 1968, Source Four advised that the Invaders and certain students still had control of the Administration Building and were telling students to not come to class and to boycott the school. Also on November 26, 1968, Source Three advised in more detail that the Invaders, while in the building, had hoped to have a confrontation with the police, such as the Black Panthers had done in California, in order to get publicity. Source Three advised that the Invaders and SDS people had definitely taken over the demonstration, taking it away from the students, and that they were merely "using the students," preying upon their emotions.

He indicated that at least 25 to 30 had been in the building during the night, led primarily by Lance Watson. He stated that some of Watson's key members, Maurice Lewis, Melvin Smith, Roy Lee Turks, and James Phillips (former LeMoyné student and one of the original founders of the BOP in Memphis) had also been with them. Also, James Pegues and one William Bell, possibly of either the Invaders or Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had been with them. He stated that among SDS people were Edward M. Carter, Jr., Richard Moon, Laura Ingram, Ann Twiggs, Robert Matlock, and Muriel Joy Patterson, female Negro and common-law wife of Carter. He also stated that Malcom Blackburn of the Clayborn Temple had been in and out of the building during the night. This source pointed out that as psychological warfare, Wine had put water in beer bottles and had attempted to lead people to believe that these were gasoline firebombs.

This source stated that one of the derringers which had been in the Invaders' possession had four barrels. Source also learned that Donald Stone, Field Representative of SNCC, ostensibly brought to Memphis by Coby Vernon Smith, had spoken to a small group of LeMoyné students at a meeting on the LeMoyné campus, Friday, November 22, 1968, and that Stone has not been seen in the last day or so, nor had Coby Smith made an appearance.

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He stated that Melvin Smith seemed to be in charge of the security guards at the doors. He stated that the students became very bitter and very emotional, particularly the girls, and that they unleashed numerous obscenities at Dr. Price.

At 9:30 a.m., November 26, 1968, Source Nine advised that allegedly the students had pulled the phone lines going into the Administration Building and had taken over the Science Building at the corner of McDowell and Walker. Dr. Price had called a faculty meeting for 10:30 a.m. and also hoped to meet with student leaders at that time, and was about prepared to meet all of their demands except their demand that tuition be lowered. It appeared at this point that all of the whites, who allegedly were with SDS, had left the campus with the exception of Edward M. (Ted) Carter, Jr. Those who remained in the buildings were yelling obscenities at those outside, and Lance Watson and his group were carrying a Black Power flag around the campus, going from building to building.

At 10:10 a.m., Source Nine advised that the Invaders, supported by a few students, had taken over the Co-op Building, giving them three buildings under their control, and that O. W. Pickett, a Negro political leader, close associate of former Mayor William B. Ingram of Memphis, Tennessee, and bitter political opponent of current Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb, had brought a supply of food to the Invaders.

At 1:20 p.m., November 26, 1968, Source Six advised that the dispute had been temporarily solved, that the students and Invaders had left the three buildings which they had been occupying approximately 1:00 to 1:15 p.m., and that apparently they had done no perceptible damage to the buildings, and that after Dr. Price had talked to the students, the students had apparently talked the Invaders into voluntarily leaving in order to give the administration time to further consider the demands. Source Six volunteered that O. W. Pickett had brought food and supplies to those who were

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occupying the buildings, and was observed to give the Black Power handshake to some of the Invaders. Source Six advised the students had broken into the Registrar's Office but apparently had done no property damage.

Also on the early afternoon of November 26, 1968, Source Nine advised that the students and Invaders had left the building at approximately 1:00 p.m. and that key persons identified were John C. Smith, Coby Smith, Maurice Lewis, Melvin Smith, Franketta Guinn (the only female Invader identified, who claimed to be a student at LeMoyne College). Source Nine pointed out that Coby Smith was first seen with the occupiers on the morning of November 26. Source Nine stated the news media was giving the incident considerable impetus and that NBC and CBS had sent television cameramen to the scene and that some of the students took delight in chasing the representatives of the news media, threatening to physically harm them. Source Nine stated that it definitely appeared that Rayford Adams of either CBS or NBC was in sympathy with the striking students. He kept chanting, "The press has got to go." Source Nine pointed out that the faculty would have committee meetings on November 27 and again on November 29 to further discuss student demands.

On November 26, 1968, Source Four advised that the students had met with the administration at approximately 10:15 a.m., that the grievances had been explained pro and con, that the students thereafter had a huddle, were extremely close-mouthed but did agree to vacate the buildings provided classes be dismissed for the remainder of the week ending November 30, 1968, with the understanding that the administration would attempt to equitably adjust the grievances and bring back a final report to the students when classes are scheduled to resume at 8:30 a.m., Monday, December 2, 1968.

This source advised that a cursory check of the buildings determined no perceptible damage.

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As various developments outlined hereinbefore were developed, information was furnished to Lieutenant E. H. Arkin, Intelligence Bureau, Memphis Police Department; to U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, Tennessee; and to David Pagano, 111th Military Intelligence Group, Third Army, Memphis.

BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP),
Also known as Black Organizing Power,
Afro-American Brotherhood,
Black Student Association,
Invaders,
LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People (NAACP),
City Organizers

On April 18, 1968, a third source advised that a black power group in Memphis which has been in existence for several months has until recently been known as Black Organizing Power. It is now known as Black Organizing Project (BOP), also known as Black Organizing Power, with five cells or parts, known as (1) Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB), primarily consisting of Owen College students; (2) Black Student Association (BSA), primarily consisting of Memphis State University (MSU) Negro students; (3) LeMoyne Intercollegiate Chapter of the NAACP, consisting of LeMoyne College students; (4) the Invaders, consisting mostly of high school dropouts; and (5) the City Organizers, comprised of young adults.

AAB has about 12 members; BSA has about 20 members; the Invaders has about 15 members; the LeMoyne group has about 20 members; and the City Organizers has about 20 members.

Source one advised that the BOP attempts to create pride in black identity, attempts to teach and promote the teaching of Negro history, and to promote black culture and obtain more employment for young Negroes.

The Executive Secretary of BOP is Charles Laverne Cabbage.

On February 16, 1968, Charles Laverne Cabbage personally acknowledged being leader of BOP, claiming he is the impetus of black power in Memphis, Tennessee, and that BOP's purpose is to stimulate in the young Negroes a sense of black identity, black pride, and black consciousness. He said his group follows the teachings of Student Nonviolent

Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leaders H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael but that BOP did not necessarily exist as a formal SNCC unit. CABRAGE further admitted he had made statements such as "Memphis should be burned" and "Memphis should have a good race riot," but claimed he did not mean these statements literally, merely endeavoring to shock the community into doing something to help the black race.

On February 27, 1968, a second source advised that at a public meeting on February 26, 1968, the BOP Chairman John Burrell Smith told a Negro audience, "We've got to do some fighting," and "You'd better get some guns. You're going to need them before this is over. You can't pray your way out."

On June 6, 1968, the second source advised that BOP primarily consists of about 30 to 35 young college and high school students and school dropouts, unemployed and not looking for work, who continually preach hatred of the white race and capitalistic economic system and advocating and predicting violence by blacks. The over-all plan of BOP, according to source two, is to scare the Memphis community leaders, both black and white, into fearing black militancy. The BOP leaders then hope to convince the community to fund them as a form of subtle blackmail whereby BOP can prevent racial violence. Source two said that BOP is more interested in publicity and money than in direct action, but is nevertheless preaching violence in an effort to scare the community.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a nonmembership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus-- the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellions when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, Carmichael resided in Washington, D. C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced by Hubert Geroid Brown, commonly known as H. Rap Brown, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP)
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Memphis, Tennessee
November 27, 1968

Title: ENACT ORGANIZING PROJECT (BOP);
STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS

Reference: Memorandum prepared at Memphis,
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